DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 068 246 RC 006 530

AUTHOR Kleinfeld, Judith
TITLE Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo High School Students.
INSTITUTION Alaska Univ., College. Inst. of Social, Economic and Government Research.
PUB DATE 72
NOTE 74p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *American Indians; Educational Diagnosis; *Educational Methods; Educational Research; *Effective Teaching; *Eskimos; Learning Difficulties; Minority Group Teachers; Student Teacher Relationship; *Teacher Evaluation; Teacher Selection
IDENTIFIERS *Alaska

ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is upon analyzing effective and ineffective teachers in terms of their behavior in the classroom, not in terms of their personalities or attitudes. It is suggested that 2 fundamental characteristics distinguish effective from ineffective teacners of American Indian and Eskimo students: (1) a high level of personal warmth, especially warmth communicated nonverbally through facial expression, body distance, and touch; and (2) a high level of active demandingness in the classroom--demandingness expressed as an aspect of the teacher's personal concern for the student, rather than a concern for subject matter. This study also suggests the need for pre-service and in-service training for teachers to acquire the type of interpersonal behavior that facilitates learning among the Indian and Eskimo students. Teachers of Indian and Eskimo students were observed in 2 boarding schools and in 5 integrated urban high schools during the 1970-71 school year. The focus was on teachers of 9th grade Indian and Eskimo students. The teachers were videotaped to permit a more intensive analysis and interviewed to discuss problems of village students and effective teaching methods. The "Supportive Gadflies," who exhibited personal warmth and active demandingness, appeared to be successful with the Indian and Eskimo students as compared to the other types of teachers (traditionalists, sophisticates, and sentimentalists). (FF)

ED 068246

Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo High School Students

by
Judith Kleinfeld

Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research

Center for Northern Educational Research

1972

University of Alaska
Fairbanks Alaska

RC006530

ED 068246

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1972
NMSU
E.R.I.C.

Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo High School Students

by

Judith Kleinfeld

Produced and Published in Collaboration with the
Center for Northern Educational Research
University of Alaska

Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research
University of Alaska

RC 006530

Library of Congress Catalogue Number 72-89258
Series: ISEGR Report No. 34

Published by
Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research
Fairbanks, Alaska
1972

PREFACE

Much of the current research in education is devoted to criticism of current educational methods, particularly when applied to the practices adapted for minority groups. Ineffective teachers are described by perjorative terms, such as "ethnocentric" or "prejudiced," and the results of such research are, in the main, destructive. There are occasional exceptions to this practice, studies that, rather than being exercises in self-criticism, instead attempt to analyze *effective* methods in a manner that makes it possible for teachers to change or modify their classroom behavior—to the benefit of their students and, thus, themselves. The analysis reported by Dr. J.S. Kleinfeld in the study, encouraged and supported by officials of the Alaska Department of Education, is such an exception.

In this second collaborative report of the Center for Northern Educational Research (CNER) and the Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research (ISEGR), Dr. Kleinfeld attempts to analyze effective and ineffective teachers in terms of their behavior in the classroom, not in terms of their personalities or attitudes. Although an investigation into the nature of effective teachers is an extremely sensitive topic, it is one that must be faced if we are to understand the basic problems of education in general and, in the case of this report, cross-cultural education in Alaska. Dr. Kleinfeld has developed a special teacher typology that avoids the subjective terms so often used in current educational research and has instead applied a scientific method to describe the nature of individuals who truly are achieving positive learner-teacher relationships. Thus, by focusing on what practices and methods are successful, rather than unsuccessful, the opportunity for improvement is more likely.

Dr. Kleinfeld's research and the attitude of staff members of the Alaska Department of Education who sponsored it serves as a good example of the cooperation that can develop between scientist and practitioner. A further, and more concrete, example of this cooperation is that while the research was in progress, the ideas and observations described in this report were fed into the educational

system through CNER's consultant role to the Division of Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program. Not only have these ideas been accepted but also they have been usefully applied, through being presented, for example, in numerous teacher workshops sponsored by the department.

Thus, this report presents practical information that can be, and is, beneficially applied to everyday school life and the lives of Alaska Native students—and their teachers.

Frank Darnell
Director, CNER

Victor Fischer
Director, ISEGR

August 1972

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was supported by the Division of Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program and by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Dr. Charles Ray, who serves as director of the Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program project at the Center for Northern Education, contributed substantially to all phases of this work. Special appreciation is also due Dr. Jim Orvik, Dr. Ray Barnhardt, and Mrs. Winifred Lande of the Center for Northern Education, all of whom made valuable suggestions concerning revisions of this paper. Many other useful comments were made by reviewers of this paper: Dr. Tom Morehouse of the Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, Dr. Bill Richards of the Alaska Native Medical Center, Mr. Jim Colberg of State-Operated Schools, Dr. Andre Renaud of the University of Saskatchewan, Dr. Harry Wolcott of the University of Oregon, Mr. Edward Durgin of the University of Oregon, and Dr. Thomas Hopkins of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. All responsibility for error, of course, rests with the author.

JK
—August 1972

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE		iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		v
CHAPTER I:	INTRODUCTION	1
	Review of the Literature	3
	Method	6
CHAPTER II:	PROBLEM AREAS	9
	Problems of Indian and Eskimo Village Students in High School	9
	Problems of High School Teachers of Indian and Eskimo Village Students	14
CHAPTER III:	EFFECTIVE AND INEFFECTIVE TEACHERS	17
	Personal Warmth versus Professional Distance	17
	Active Demandingness versus Passive Understanding	25
CHAPTER IV:	A TYPOLOGY OF TEACHERS	27
	Type I: Professional Distance-Active Demandingness—"Traditionalists"	27
	Type II: Professional Distance-Passive Understanding—"Sophisticates"	30
	Type III: Personal Warmth-Passive Understanding—"Sentimentalists"	33
	Type IV: Personal Warmth-Active Demandingness—"Supportive Gadflies"	35
CHAPTER V:	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	41

APPENDIX I: THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASSROOM CLIMATE TO THE VERBAL PARTICIPATION OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO STUDENTS IN INTEGRATED CLASSROOMS 45

APPENDIX II: EFFECTS OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION OF PERSONAL WARMTH ON THE INTELLIGENCE TEST PERFORMANCE OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO ADOLESCENTS 51

APPENDIX III: STUDENT AND TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRES 57

REFERENCES 63

LIST OF TABLES

Appendix Table 1	Means and Standard Deviations of Classroom Climate, Classmate Friendliness, and Students' and Teachers' Ratings of Intellectual Participation	48
Appendix Table 2	Relationship Between Classroom Climate, Classmate Friendliness, and Students' Ratings of Intellectual Participation	49
Appendix Table 3	Relationship Between Classroom Climate, Classmate Friendliness, and Teachers' Ratings of Intellectual Participation	50
Appendix Table 4	Change Scores of Indian and Eskimo Students on Digit-Symbol Subtest	54
Appendix Table 5	Change Scores of Indian and Eskimo Students on Information Subtest	55

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	A Typology of Teachers of Indian and Eskimo Students	28
Figure 2:	Effective Teachers and Culturally Different Student Groups	42

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The ethnocentric teacher of Indian and Eskimo students, who quotes chapter and verse of the cultural deprivation ideology to rationalize his own teaching failings and who strives to propel his students into the American mainstream by destroying their cultural identity, has become a prominent villain in cross-cultural education. While the characteristics of such ineffective teachers are well-known, very little information is available about the characteristics of successful teachers in a cross-cultural situation. What instructional styles lead to positive cross-cultural relationships and to higher intellectual performance by rural Indian and Eskimo students?

With the increasing number of rural high school students attending urban integrated schools through Alaska's Boarding Home Program and adjacent dormitories, it becomes especially important to explore effective instructional styles in an integrated classroom situation. Is the teacher who is successful with urban white and black students also successful with rural Indian and Eskimo students, or are different teaching styles more productive with different types of students?

This study suggests that two fundamental characteristics distinguish effective from ineffective teachers of Indian and Eskimo students. The first and most important is a high level of personal warmth, especially warmth communicated nonverbally through facial expression, body distance, and touch. The second characteristic is a high level of active demandingness in the classroom—demandingness expressed, however, as an aspect of the teacher's personal concern for the student, rather than as concern for subject matter.

Differentiating teachers by these two characteristics—high or low personal warmth and high or low active demandingness—yields a typology of four kinds of teachers that corresponds closely to instructional styles easily observable in classrooms. "Traditionalist" teachers combine personal coldness with a narrow, subject-oriented demandingness. Their instructional style typically leads to a hostile learning impasse in the classroom. "Sophisticate" teachers combine urbane reserve, which rural students often interpret as coldness, with low demandingness, derived from excessive concern with cultural differences. Their instructional style tends to create confused apprehension in rural students. "Sentimentalist" teachers' high warmth and low demandingness derives in part from their overwhelming sympathy for Native students. Their instructional style also leads to little learning and may lead to a classroom situation where urban students behave with hostility toward rural students since urban students resent the teacher's apparent favoritism. "Supportive gadfly" teachers, who combine high personal warmth with high active demandingness, create classrooms where rural Indian and Eskimo students participate verbally in the classroom and demonstrate a high degree of learning.

The different types of teachers appear to have different effects with urban white and black students and with rural Indian and Eskimo students. Traditionalist and sophisticate teachers are often highly successful instructors of urban students, who share their interpersonal orientations, but they are rarely effective with rural students. Sentimentalist teachers tend to be ineffective with either student group. Supportive gadfly teachers, in contrast, tend to be highly successful with both rural Indian and Eskimo and also urban white and black students.

Better methods of teacher selection may be the most effective way to improve the quality of teaching that village Indian and Eskimo students receive in secondary school. Especially in large, urban schools where many alternative teachers are available, counselors can guide rural students into the classes of those teachers who are most suited to instruct them. Many counselors, especially those employed specifically to work with rural students, are indeed screening teachers in this way. The danger is that some types of teachers may favorably impress counselors and administrators in charge of teacher selection because of their evident concern with these students and interest in anthropology. Yet, these teachers may do substantial damage to rural students precisely because their

sympathy may be excessive and their intellectual interests in Indians and Eskimos may be unintentionally pursued at the students' expense. Although the ethnocentric traditionalist teacher is becoming less and less frequent in cross-cultural education, the numbers of sophisticate and sentimentalist teachers appear to be increasing, and they may pose the new danger in cross-cultural education. It is important that administrators, counselors, and teachers recognize that some otherwise excellent teachers may not be personally adapted to a cross-cultural teaching situation, and that there is no need to view this as evidence of personal failure.

This study also suggests the need for pre-service and in-service training courses that help teachers acquire the types of interpersonal behaviors that facilitate learning among village Indian and Eskimo students. Although basic personality dimensions such as personal warmth are difficult to modify, especially through limited programs, most people possess a wide range of interpersonal behaviors that they use in different situations. Through such training, teachers could be encouraged to select more frequently those behaviors that communicate warmth and to arrange instructional situations that facilitate warm, informal interactions. Similarly, such training programs can be important in legitimizing active demandingness and helping teachers to recognize that stimulating students' intellectual growth, not passive sympathy, is the appropriate expression of their concern for village Indian and Eskimo students.

Review of the Literature

Ethnographic studies in Indian education have generally focused on the broad cultural conflicts, personified in the normative instructional style of white teachers and in the normative classroom behavior of Indian and Eskimo students, that lead to a learning deadlock in the classroom. In their classic study of formal education among the Sioux, Wax, Wax, and Dumont (1964) view the classroom as a focal point of the social distance and value conflicts separating the Indian community from white society. Teachers disparaged their students' culture and potentialities and viewed their instructional mission as reforming students by imparting the values and manners of white society, which they viewed as absolute moral goods. Sioux adolescents retaliated by creating a "silent classroom," where the Indian peer group expressed passive resistance by refusing verbal participation in class work.

Wax *et al.* (1964) point out that a few successful teachers did prevent such silent classrooms by their instructional style. However, the description of these effective teachers is unfortunately brief:

> . . . there are a few teachers who develop fine classrooms and teach their pupils a great deal. These teachers are difficult to describe because they are remarkably different in background and personality and some are "real characters" in the sense that this word was used fifty years ago. In general, they differ from the less successful instructors in that they respect their pupils. By this, we mean that they treat them as if something of respect was already there . . . These teachers are strict disciplinarians and do not tolerate nonsense . . . all are very fair and all are extremely skillful in avoiding a situation which would embarrass a shy student before the class. They tend to place a heavy emphasis on scholastic work and often behave as if such matters as pupils' neatness in dress and eating habits, or how pupils spend their money, do not fall within their province (p. 75).

While Wax *et al.* (1964) emphasize the importance of such characteristics as teachers' respect for the student, their research did not focus on the ways these general attitudes are expressed in teaching behaviors. Since Indians and Eskimos may hold beliefs about appropriate interpersonal behavior very different from those of whites (Wax and Thomas, 1961), such specificity is essential. Both Indian students' different views about appropriate interpersonal behavior and their interpersonal sensitivity make it very difficult for a teacher armed only with general directives to behave appropriately (Wax and Wax, 1969).

In a study of Cherokee classrooms, Dumont (1969) attempts to define three classes of effective and ineffective teachers. Teachers in the first group are "nice" to students, but have given up attempting to teach them. They resort to busy work or let the class carry on without them. Teachers in the second group place high value on learning, but have no understanding of cultural differences and the appropriate ways of interacting with students. In their classes, students are apathetic and, in turn, the teachers react with hostility. The third group of teachers work within the framework of cultural differences, and, with the help of students who act as mediators between the teacher and the Indian peer society, create an "intercultural classroom." The hallmark of such a classroom is verbal dialogue between the teacher and student, in contrast to the normative silent resistance. In the intercultural classroom, students "will do such remarkable things as engage in lengthy conversations

with the teacher about academic subjects" (Dumont and Wax, 1969, p. 223).

The characteristics of these effective teachers and how they go about creating such an intercultural classroom are not made clear. Dumont's classroom observations as well as other materials suggest, however, that it may be the teacher's interpersonal style that is crucial to Indian students' response to the learning situation.

Among Indians and Eskimos, social harmony is a value that traditionally takes precedence over task achievement (Albert, 1956). The interpersonal dimension of a situation is not considered separate from the task dimension. As Wax *et al.* (1964) phrase it, a task "cannot be separated from the relationship of the individuals performing it" (p. 72). Thus, an appropriate interpersonal style may be a more necessary condition of learning for Indian and Eskimo students than for other students who are more accustomed to separating interpersonal relationships from completion of a task.

Such a view is supported by Wax *et al.*'s (1969) finding that Cherokee parents and students emphasized the importance of "love" in their definition of the good teacher. Apparently made uncomfortable by the intensity of the emotion suggested by this concept, Wax *et al.* (1969) attribute the Cherokee's "peculiar usage of the English word 'love'" to their limited knowledge of English and redefine the term as indicating a teacher-student relationship of "respect, trust, gentleness, and courteous sensibility" (p. 81). The present study raises the possibility that the Cherokee may have meant percisely what they said. The intense personal warmth that seems to lead to effective teaching of village Indian and Eskimo students often appears inappropriate to Western professionals.

In a study of Eskimo education, Collier (1970) also suggests the importance of emotional closeness between teacher and student and points to the ways teachers use nonverbal behaviors to communicate these feelings. Contrasting an animated Head Start class taught by two Eskimo women with a silent pre-first grade class taught by a white male, Collier (1970) noted substantial differences in the teachers' pattern of nonverbal communication, especially the ways they used space and touch. The white teacher created a classroom climate of emotional distance by standing at a wide physical distance from the Eskimo students and by spacing students apart in rows. The Eskimo teachers, in contrast, communicated emotional closeness

through close physical distance and body-to-body affection. Their classroom was a rhythmically harmonious group where everyone was touching and caressing everyone else. Those white teachers who were able to employ a nonverbal communication style of emotional closeness similar to that of the Eskimo teachers had students who responded with interest rather than apathy.

> Mr. Scout moves from individual to individual, from group to group. He leans over, sits down, touches, corrects and moves on. Students run to *him* with papers . . . The teacher appears very relaxed, and talks slowly *to* students. There are no signs of boredom, no yawning. Everyone is busy . . . (Collier, 1970, p. 79).

Collier's study suggests it is the teacher's interpersonal style, not simply whether he is Eskimo, that is critical to success. While an Eskimo teacher who had completed professional university training showed little rapport with students, white Special Education teachers, whose interests and training led them to respond to students in a highly personalized manner, tended to be highly effective.

In sum, while the ethnographic literature contains abundant examples of destructive teacher attitudes and practices, descriptions of successful teachers of Indian and Eskimo students are sparse. Several studies suggest the importance of emotional closeness between teacher and students, but little attention has been given to the way such a relationship develops or to other characteristics of teachers that may be important to their success in a cross-cultural teaching situation.

Method

Teachers of village Indian and Eskimo students were observed in two all-Native boarding schools and in five integrated urban high schools during the 1970-71 school year. Attention focused primarily on teachers of ninth grade Indian and Eskimo students, since these students are first experiencing the transition from a small village school to a large secondary school, and problems at this stage are most severe. Several ninth grade teachers, who represented different teaching styles, were videotaped to permit more intensive analysis of their classroom behavior. Interviews were conducted with teachers

and with Indian, Eskimo, and white students in these schools about problems of village students and effective teaching methods. In addition, workshops on cross-cultural teaching methods were held at each of the schools, which led to a general exchange of ideas about cross-cultural teaching.

Since the purpose of this study was to describe effective and ineffective teaching styles, it is necessary to make clear the particular criteria of teaching effectiveness used in assessing different teachers. Studies of teaching effectiveness have generally used three types of criterion measures (Cogan, 1958). One is the opinion of experts, such as teacher supervisors. A second is pupil growth measured by such indicators of change as achievement tests. A third is an intermediate criterion thought to be related to pupil growth, such as classroom attentiveness and amount of academic work performed. Expert opinion is generally acknowledged to be an unsatisfactory measure, since such opinions tend to be unreliable. An expert's opinion of a teacher also may depend substantially on the particular educational theories the expert happens to hold. While pupil growth as measured by achievement test gains seems superficially to be the most valid criterion of teacher effectiveness, it is difficult to use. At the secondary level, where each subject is taught by a different teacher, it is difficult to compare student gains across subject areas. Also, different teachers may have different objectives within a particular subject.

For these reasons, this study used as an indicator of teacher effectiveness an intermediate criterion of pupil growth that seemed especially appropriate for Indian and Eskimo students—the intellectual level of students' verbal participation in the academic work of the classroom. First, did Indian and Eskimo students verbally participate at all? Second, what was the cognitive level of their verbal communications, as evaluated by Bloom's (1956) taxonomy? Did the student only repeat scattered facts, for example, or did he demonstrate higher level skills, such as the ability to apply principles to new situations?[1]

[1]Obviousiy, such a criterion of teacher effectiveness is not appropriate to classes where artistic or manual skills are being developed. This study was confined to teachers of academic subjects.

Verbal participation itself was chosen as one criterion of teacher effectiveness for Indian and Eskimo students because both the Indian education literature and teacher interviews suggested that Indians and Eskimos tend to respond to a stressful situation, such as a poor teacher, by withdrawing into silence. Indeed, their pervasive classroom silence may be used as a passive strategy of aggression against the teacher. Verbal participation has been used, although not explicitly, as a criterion of effective teaching in other ethnographies of Indian classrooms (Wax, *et al.*, 1964; Dumont and Wax, 1969). Moreover, whether the student talks in class is often informally used by teachers of village Indian and Eskimo students to evaluate their own teaching success.

The second criterion, the cognitive level of student participation, was used to distinguish classrooms where the student felt comfortable enough to speak, but was learning little, from classrooms where verbal participation indicated learning. This measure of the intellectual level of student's participation was especially useful in evaluating the teacher's effectiveness with the urban students, who were not usually verbally reticent.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEM AREAS

Problems of Indian and Eskimo Village Students in High School

Indian and Eskimo students catapulted from small village schools into large urban schools experience severe initial stress. Problems are more pronounced in urban, integrated schools, but similar problems do occur at all-Native boarding schools. It is not until the end of the first school year or even the beginning of the next year that most students begin to feel comfortable in the school. And many drop out before then.

The physical environment of the high school—its massive size, labyrinth of corridors, lockers, and battlefield din—frequently unnerves students accustomed to a one- or two-room school and a village that has a population smaller than the student body. To find an Indian or Eskimo young man crying in the halls or vomiting in the restroom because he cannot find his next class is not an exceptional occurrence. Since Indians and Eskimos are socialized into a stringent ethic of masking feelings of discomfort (Spindler and Spindler, 1957; Briggs, 1970), such breakdowns evidence the extreme stress village students undergo.

Village students adapt fairly soon to such physical stress, although they may remain somewhat uncomfortable. Rather, it is the social environment of the secondary school that creates subtle and

enduring problems. The contrast between the interpersonal norms of the secondary school and village students' prior social experience leads many students to perceive the high school as a hostile environment.

Village students are accustomed to the personalized relationships characteristic of a small community where everyone knows everyone else as total personalities in both task and social conditions. As one student explained:

> Probably we are shy and timid cause most of us has been born in small villages where everyone knows everyone. And everyone knows who's doing this and that, also everything that is going on. And we went to school in a one-room class. And here it's very different.

Students are not familiar with impersonal social settings where anonymity and fragmented task relationships are the norm. For example, many students report that they feel somehow uneasy when they do not know the name of each student in a class or when they are not personally acquainted with the driver of the school bus.

Moreover, interpreting social interactions in the large urban school from the framework of a personalized folk society, village students frequently misinterpret the meaning of the interactions. For example, Indian and Eskimo village students tend to view themselves as the strangers in a new school community where they assume everyone knows everyone else. If the urban students indeed had friendly feelings toward them, the village students reason, they would make positive friendly overtures just as the village students would if a new person visited their hometown. Urban students, however, accustomed to the anonymity of a large school where there are many students they do not know, generally take no notice of village students and certainly make little special effort to be friendly. Village students then interpret this behavior as active rejection and prejudice, as indeed it would be if they treated a visitor to the village in this fashion. When village students become accustomed to the impersonal norms of the school, generally in their second year, they frequently remark that they had initially misunderstood their classmates' attitudes and perceived them as prejudiced and unfriendly when most of them were not.

Village students tend to desire highly personalized relationships not only with their classmates, but also with their teachers. Thus, village students generally desire teachers to be friends in the full sense of the term, while teachers generally desire village students to be only students. The yearning of students to become personal friends with their teachers and to resolve academic problems in a social, not a task-oriented situation, is strikingly apparent in the following student's analysis of his difficulties in the classroom and the way they could be solved:

> The thing we lack most is friends. We gotta find a way to get more friends. That how I think about everything. Why don't the teachers here, you guys, and we Native students have a party somewhere and become friends (which we lack most) and also settle everything comfortably.

In addition to growing up in the personalized world of a small village, Indian, and to a lesser extent Eskimo, students may react with intense fear to the school environment because they are socialized to regard the world outside of the immediate family and peer group as possibly hostile (Briggs, 1970; Spindler and Spindler, 1957; Hippler, 1971). With traditionally strong controls on in-group aggression, hostile feelings tend to be projected onto dangerous external agents, such as spirits, monsters, or, more recently, white people. Village parents, for example, may induce obedience by warning children that a white stranger will get them if they do not behave. Such socialization often creates a pervasive fear of strangers, especially whites. Such fears can paralyze students and impede learning. As one boy wrote:

> Last year when I was in the 8th grade, I was making fairly good grades, and this year when I was admitted to high school I started to make low grades like D's, because I cannot work with white people, watching, sitting, and talking all around me, and it is very hard for me to study around those people I don't know.

Not merely prior socialization, but also the actual prejudice and hostility of a number of students and a few teachers in the school create substantial fear in village students. White students may mock the "funny noises" made by Indian and Eskimo students, especially when they speak their own language. Some deride villagers by pejoratives, such as "salmon crunchers." Some imitate the village student's walk when he is called out of class for special counseling or medical treatment. Such hostility increases village students' estrangement in the school:

> An Eskimo young man, carrying a brief case symbolizing his split identity by pictures of western school culture drawn on one side and pictures of Eskimo culture drawn on the other, walked up to his best friend in Speech Class and said, "You stink." The other young man retorted, "Who said?" "I heard it about me," he admitted, moodily taking his seat. Ignoring the lesson, he proceeded to read a magazine and to label all the pictures with Eskimo words.

The common school practice of placing village students in classes with urban students of similar achievement levels aggravates the problem of white hostility. These low socio-economic status, frustrated urban students are very likely to hold prejudiced attitidues and to displace their aggression on the convenient target of the village student, who rarely fights back. In addition, the special treatment that many village students publicly receive from well-meaning school personnel aggravates urban students' resentments. They feel that the village students "get away with everything. If I got busted, I would go to jail. They would get away with it."

Village students sometimes maintain an almost catatonic silence in class in fear that white students will humiliate them for errors. Yet, the village student is caught in a double bind. If he does speak, whites will laugh at him. If he does not speak, whites will call him a "dumb Native." As one girl wrote in a letter asking for all-Native classes:

> The reason I am writing this letter is because I hope you can help. I don't feel very open when I am working with white students. Even though I really like to speak up and answer some questions you or some other teachers ask I am always afraid to because I always be afraid that if I give the wrong answer or talk funny they will make fun of me. I think it would be of a great help to most of us Natives if we could be separated from the white student so we can be more opened to speak up and not be made fun of. I know we just can't go on in school like this. We really have to move. Sometimes I think that most of the white students think that I am dumb just because I don't answer questions.

While teachers are rarely guilty of the overt prejudice characteristic of some students, they may inadvertently behave in ways that village students interpret as hostile. For example, village students find it very difficult to follow the fast-paced, conversational English of the classroom and may not know the meaning of such

idioms as "hit the books." Almost invariably, the students complain that the teacher "talks too fast and uses too many big words." Moreover, since students tend not to differentiate sharply between the task and social aspects of a situation, they may interpret these academic difficulties in interpersonal terms. The teacher's use of big words, for example, may be viewed as a sign of the teacher's superior attitudes and hostile feelings. Since the teacher must realize that they cannot understand the words and yet goes on using them, village students reason, obviously the teachers do not care about them or do not like them. As one student wrote about the most well-intentioned teacher interns:

Why I Hate College Teachers

> Because they don't teach as good as older teachers. They try to be tough on you, and try to make you think they are smart by using big words even they know we don't understand them they go on. I've noticed the one in the Study Hall wears glasses, she unconsciously plays with them and she puts them on they slide down to the end of her nose. And the one down in art class wears round ones. Maybe they want to look smart (Brown, 1968, p. 38).

Athabascan Indian and Eskimo students' response to the stresses of secondary school is generally mute withdrawal, a pattern found among other Indian groups in this situation (Cameron, 1969; Parmee, 1969; Wax *et al.*, 1969; Poston, 1967; Osborn, 1967). Enclosing themselves in a protective shield of silence, entering students may sit in the classroom, but refuse to meet the teacher's eyes, answer a question, or ask for needed help. In the urban, integrated school, where the stress is greatest, village students tend to huddle together at the far back corner of the room, a position symbolizing their psychological withdrawal from classroom life. Since many students have severe hearing loss from otitis media and vision problems that are only gradually noticed and corrected, their retirement to the back of the room virtually guarantees that they cannot understand the lesson. In especially stressful classes such as speech, where the village student is expected to give a formal talk before the critical eyes of the white students, village students may withdraw physically by hiding in the restrooms. In some cases, students withdraw from the total situation by refusing to attend school at all.

The pattern of withdrawal gradually changes for most students as they become more comfortable in the school. The transition from

silent withdrawal to participation occurs more quickly, of course, in all-Native boarding schools, since the student does not have to overcome his fear of white strangers. The transition also occurs more easily in those integrated schools that establish an all-Native orientation class—generally covering English and social studies—for entering students. In integrated as well as all-Native schools, however, the students' degree of withdrawal depends to a surprising degree on the behavior of individual teachers. Some teachers succeed in evoking high levels of intellectual participation, whereas others teach in silent classrooms.

Problems of High School Teachers of Indian and Eskimo Village Students

High school teachers, especially those in urban, integrated schools where the student is most likely to withdraw into silence, tend to view their fundamental problem with village students as "communication." Since village students often refuse to speak in class, teachers find it very difficult to use their customary question and answer method to find out if students understand the lesson. Village students' refusal to speak in class is also extremely upsetting and embarrassing to many teachers. The teacher asks a question, and the Native student may lower his eyes and head, hunching his body into a shell. While the teacher waits, debating how long to pause for an answer, the restless urban students go out of control or shout out the answer. Angry and humiliated in a contest that the village student almost always wins, the teacher finally moves on with no clue as to whether the village student has understood the lesson.

Not only do teachers find it difficult to use village student's verbal responses as indicators of their understanding, but also they have great difficulty using their nonverbal communications. Teachers are accustomed to reading nonverbal signals, such as facial expression or bodily posture, to see if students understand the point, feel bored, or are interested in the lesson. Teachers and urban students have developed certain stereotyped nonverbal signals, such as the puzzled frown, which communicate these feelings without the need for direct question and answer. However, village students' faces tend to be expressionless in the classroom. This expressionless face is not a characteristic of Indian and Eskimo students, as teachers often think. It is a response to the stress of the classroom; the student fears he would publicly lose face if he indicated he did not understand. Not

until rapport between teacher and student develops does the village student venture the puzzled frown that indicates lack of understanding. Moreover, in order to save face, village students sometimes send nonverbal messages indicating that they understand a lesson when they actually do not.

> A university student guest is giving a special lesson on electricity to a class of urban students and village Indian and Eskimo students. His talk is incomprehensible to the observer. The white students are sprawled back in their seats with bored expressions. The Native students are leaning over their desks with expressionless faces and appear to be taking notes assiduously.

When village students do use nonverval signals to communicate with the teacher, the teacher frequently misses them because their nonverbal signals tend to be much more subdued than those of the urban students. For example, the teacher may ask a question to which the answer is "Holy War," and the urban students shout out the answer while the village students may whisper it. An attentive teacher could see the rounded mouth indicate the broad "o" in "Holy." However, teachers accustomed to the shouting and angular sweeping gestures of urban students frequently do not notice the slight, circular gestures or expectant look that village students may use to communicate their readiness to answer.

A second pervasive problem felt by teachers of village students is a tension between being kind and sympathetic to the student by bending their academic requirements or treating the student like everyone else by holding him to the academic requirements of the class. Especially in urban, integrated classrooms, teachers constantly ask themselves: "Should I be understanding or demanding?" If a student refuses to answer a question, even when the teacher believes he knows the answer, how long should the teacher press him? Should the teacher adjust his requirements, tests, and grading system for the village student?

Most teachers veer toward the undemanding end of the continuum, which they consider to be the kind course. Teachers tend to be sympathetic to village students in view of their limited academic backgrounds, and such sympathy is easy to maintain, since the village students rarely present discipline problems. Moreover, some teachers are reluctant to demand because of school folklore about the disasterous results of pushing village students too far. In one school, for example, the counselor recounted the tale of a

teacher who had asked a village student to read in front of the class. The student could not read and wildly threw the book, accidentally cutting the teacher's face. Yet, as other teachers point out:

> When one trys to treat them too gingerly, some take advantage, and, for example, drink a can of pop between each class (and come late). What do you do about down-to-earth problems like this?

The teacher's dilemma about how much to demand of the village student is compounded by another problem, that of the teachers' uncertainty about the type of future for which they are supposed to be preparing village students. Are they preparing them for city life or for village life? Are they trying to westernize students? Does their teaching destroy the students' cultural identity? If the student intends to go back to the village, do he and the teacher really need to suffer through chemistry or geometry or French? As one teacher put it:

> Some real thinking is needed as to goals desired in educating these other-cultural students. Just what are we trying to accomplish? Is it to orient these kids to the predominant culture? If that isn't it, what is?

Such uncertainties often sap teachers' will to teach. Faced with the difficulties and embarrassment of academically unprepared village students who refuse to participate in class and honestly uncertain of the value and legitimacy of their academic requirements for these students, many teachers choose the course of doing nothing at all. Especially in integrated classrooms, teachers find it easy to ignore the presence of a few Native students huddled in the far corner, particularly when they are not behavior problems. Teachers rationalize their indifference by various arguments. Village students, some say, have an observational learning style, so verbal participation is not important. Or teachers sanctimoniously point out that many urban students have similar problems, and, therefore, to give special help to the village student would be discrimination. As one teacher summed up:

> They are so shy and so unsure of themselves and I am so busy. All of my classes are too big—and the poor kid just gets lost in the noise and shuffle. If only I had time to sit down with these kids where it was quiet and talk to them. They do need individual help and attention, but I never have extra time—nor do I really know how to teach them.

CHAPTER III

EFFECTIVE AND INEFFECTIVE TEACHERS

Two central characteristics seemed to distinguish effective teachers in whose classes village students intellectually participated from ineffective teachers in whose classes village students silently huddled in the far corner. The first and most important characteristic was whether the teacher was able to dissipate village students' fears in the classroom by creating a climate of emotional warmth. The second was whether the teacher resolved his own ambivalence about educational goals and expressed his concern for the village students, not by passive sympathy, but by actively demanding a high quality of academic work.

Personal Warmth versus Professional Distance

Many teachers, especially upper-grade teachers, have been socialized by their university training and professional associations to regard impersonal professionalism as the appropriate mode of relating to students. Village students, however, accustomed to the personalized relationships characteristic of a village and extremely fearful in the urban classroom, often interpreted teachers' impersonalism as disinterest or even hostility. It was those teachers who could assume the role of personal friend rather than specialized professional who were able to create the warm classroom climate where village students were not afraid to speak in class. The importance of relating to Indians on a personal friend-to-friend basis

in relationships defined by western culture as professional expert-to-client has been emphasized by professionals in other roles, such as doctor (Kemnitzer, 1969) and psychiatrist (Krauss, 1971; Richards, 1972).

Over and over again, the effective teachers emphasized that "you've got to be personal." "What you have to do is shed the barrier of formality that you put up between you and the class. Approach them like people you know." "The classrom should be a little family." In contrast to other instructors, those teachers who were effective with village students tended to welcome personal friendship from students. Indeed, they might be disappointed that the urban students, accustomed to professional relationships, were only superficially friendly and held them at a distance. As one said:

> I was thrilled when two of the (Native) girls in the class came and visited me at home. They had cocoa and talked about the village and after that they were much less self-conscious. I really enjoyed teaching the Native kids because you can be personal friends with them. They don't reject you the way the white kids do. You can make a very individual and much closer relationship with them than with the other students.

Unaccustomed to such personalism in their relationship to students and yet aware it had powerful effects on classroom performance, these teachers did in some instances become uneasy. It was difficult for them to reconcile the professionalism they had been taught with the teaching style they found effective with village students. Unaware of many classical views of the educational process, which emphasize the importance of this type of intense relationship between teacher and student, teachers often worried that such personalism was inappropriate. As one commented:

> To get these kids to open up, I had to open up myself. They weren't willing to open up to me until I would open up to them. Gradually, they asked me questions about my marital status, when I had last seen my mother. Professionalism makes you feel you shouldn't open up to kids but I think you can be professional and personal, too.

Teachers similarly became uneasy when they realized that appealing to interpersonal values rather than purely academic values in a learning situation often motivated village students when nothing else seemed to work. As one teacher puzzled about a student who was refusing to study a lesson, "He said that he would study it if I

wanted him to. But I felt I should tell him that he should study it for himself, not for me." Or, as another teacher said, "He just wouldn't attend Speech class. Then I told him he was hurting the teacher's feelings because she thought he didn't like her. At that point, he said he would go." Teachers found it very difficult to reconcile the western ethic of learning for learning's sake or learning for one's own advancement with village students' motivation to learn for the sake of a personal relationship:

> Once I was driving a student home after an evening at the city council (a classroom assignment) and she asked me "Why do you teach?" I said, "I teach because I like to see kids learn and I get depressed if kids don't learn." I felt funny talking like that to a student. I didn't do it to motivate her or anything but the girl tried harder for several days in my class because I guess she liked me and didn't want me to be depressed.

Different teachers, of course, used different methods to develop a warm classroom climate. Most, however, emphasized the importance of developing friendships with students outside of the formal classroom, although it took a great deal of additional time. As one put it, "Establishing a personal relationship outside of class means a special bond occurs in class" that alleviates such problems as communication difficulties. Some teachers were amazed at their improved rapport with Native students when they simply remembered their names and were careful to say "hello" to them in the halls. Many teachers used after school tutoring as a way to get to know village students. Some teachers moved far out of the professional instructor role by encouraging students to call them in the evening when they had personal as well as academic problems, or by making such gestures as sending chocolates to a grandmother in the hospital.

Teachers who valued such relationships with students tended to prefer a larger degree of individualized instruction, where close contacts were appropriate. Even when teaching a large group, however, these teachers communicated personal warmth to village students. Primarily, they did so by subtle use of nonverbal channels. Indians and Eskimos appear to be especially sensitive to nonverbal messages, possibly because awareness of such subtle signals is critical to avoiding the open confrontation that could prove disastrous in a small, interdependent village group (DePoncins, 1941; Zintz, 1963). As Currie (1970) observes:

> We are a people who use the voice to communicate. We look in a man's eyes, we look at his face when he speaks and this way we know what he says . . . with the raise of an eyebrow and the shrug of a shoulder you can say so much more to a person (p. 5).

Teachers' use of subtle nonverbal signals to communicate warmth to village students was especially important in integrated classrooms because, in this way, teachers avoided showing obvious favoritism to village students that evoked hostility from urban students.

Since teachers are rarely trained to become aware of their nonverbal communications, it may be useful to describe in some detail the nonverbal behaviors these teachers used to communicate warmth. First, these teachers smiled very frequently.[1] While smiling seems very obviously appropriate in the classroom, it was surprising to see how infrequently many teachers smiled. Indeed, teachers seemed least likely to smile when it was most important, for example, when they were placing a village student under stress by asking him a question before the class. Uncertain of whether the student would answer or stare fixedly at the floor, many teachers reacted to this potentially embarrassing situation by assuming with total unawareness a tense, anxious facial expression. Village students, however, often interpreted the teacher's expression not as nervousness, since it was difficult for students to conceive that teachers could have such feelings, but rather as hostility toward them. This added stress of the teacher's supposed irritation toward them made the village student even less likely to answer. Those teachers who elicited a high level of participation, in contrast, maintained a reassuring smile when explaining a difficult concept and an expectant smile when asking a student a question before the class.

While smiling is a cue of pleasurable feelings that appears to have some universality across cultures,[2] it is possible that smiling has

[1] Smiling has been found to be the behavioral cue of most importance in judging others' interpersonal warmth (Bayes, 1970).

[2] Darwin (in Montagu, 1971) suggests that the universal act of sucking at the mother's breast produces the facial configuration of the smile that then becomes associated with other pleasurable experiences. Birdwhistell (1970) cautions that the meaning of the smile differs with different social situations, but comments that discussions with many anthropologists suggest that there is no reported society where smiling does not have friendly, positive feelings as one of its meanings.

special significance to Eskimos, and perhaps to Indians as well. Eskimos tend to view a person who expresses good will by observably happy behavior such as smiling and laughing as a safe person; moody people are feared because they could be plotting aggression (Briggs, 1970). Smiling may have a similar significance among Athabascan Indians, but the evidence is less direct. Navajos, a group to whom they are closely related, hold the belief that a sad or too serious face can signify a dangerous or evil person (Polacca, 1962). Teachers in Athabascan villages have remarked that frequency of smiling is used to judge the goodness of white teachers (VanNess, 1971). People may say, "He smiles a lot, he is a nice person."

Another nonverbal expression of warmth used by teachers who elicited high levels of participation from village students was close body distance. The spatial distance one places one's self from another person is an index of the emotional distance of the relationship (Hall, 1969a). A teacher who instructs from the front of the room usually stands at a "formal distance," the distance at which impersonal business is transacted. Those teachers with responsive village students, in contrast, tended to interact within a "personal distance," the distance which generates a kinesthetic feeling of closeness. Rather than asking a village student a question from the front of the room, for example, they tended to walk close to the student's desk. When teaching a group, they might seat themselves on a desk in the midst of the students. These teachers also tended to increase their closeness and decrease their dominance by placing themselves on the same postural level as the students, sitting next to them or squatting beside them when they taught.

Close body distance may also be especially important in communicating warmth to village Indian and Eskimo students. Cultures differ in the distances considered appropriate for particular types of interactions (Hall, 1969a). The spatial distance at which Indians and Eskimos normatively interact in a personal relationship appears to be much closer than the distance normative for middle class whites. This cultural difference in body distance is strikingly apparent, for example, in a gym lineup, where the urban students space themselves about half a body apart, and the Indian and Eskimo students cram within touch of each other. A number of observers have remarked that Indian and Eskimo adults, when in rapport with a white person, move so close to them that the white person feels uncomfortable and must restrain himself from moving away (Jones, 1971; Pender, 1971). Both because Indian and Eskimo students view

academic work as a personal transaction, where a personal body distance is appropriate, and also because the personal body distance considered normative by village students may be far closer than middle class whites consider usual, it seems likely that teachers generally stand outside the range that Indian and Eskimo students find comfortable for communicating.

Touching is another nonverbal cue that many of the effective teachers used extensively to communicate warmth. To touch another person, of course, conveys warmth in a very physical sense, and it may be that the use of the term "warmth" to mean kindness, friendliness, and nurturance derives from early experience of bodily warmth through skin contact with a nurturant mother. Those teachers who elicited a high level of intellectual participation from village students frequently placed themselves in positions where body-to-body contact quite naturally occurred. For example, they squatted shoulder-to-shoulder by the student and casually draped an arm around him while explaining a point. They might do a demonstration where the teacher placed his hands on the student's hands or might give the student a quick hug when privately tutoring him. While female teachers could use touch successfully with both male and female students, male teachers had to be much more cautious. Given the history of sexual exploitation between white males and Native females, a male teacher who touched (or sometimes even stared at) an adolescent female, even in the context of instruction, could arouse sexual fears that inhibited learning. Male teachers were successful in generating warmth, however, when they touched male Indian and Eskimo students. In many cases, these male teachers preferred a mock aggressive style of affectionate touching more congruent with the male role, such as the playful punch. Since body-to-body contact is not considered appropriate between teachers and students, especially at the upper grade levels (Hall, 1959), teachers were often embarrassed about touching village students yet amazed at the rapport it could create.

Touching may be a more central channel of communicating warmth among Indians and Eskimos than among middle class whites. Mainstream American culture, reflecting the Puritan emphasis on denial of sensual pleasures, is often considered a "no-touch" culture (Montagu, 1971). Indians and Eskimos, in contrast, engage in a high level of bodily contact. While middle class white children generally sleep in separate rooms or at least in their own beds, Indian and

Eskimo village children often sleep in close contact with other human bodies. While middle class white babies spend a great deal of time alone, Eskimo babies may be carried in the back of the mother's parka, where they remain in direct contact with her skin. After puberty, middle class Americans touch each other primarily in a sexual context and a touching that occurs outside such a context can be seriously misinterpreted. As Montagu (1971) notes, a boy putting his arm around the shoulder of another boy is cause for grave concern. Yet, as teachers uneasily point out, Indian and Eskimo adolescent boys and adult men can often be seen with their arms around each other in situations only of comradeship.

In addition, touching may also be used among Eskimos to signify the acceptance of a stranger into the group. Steffanson (1913), for example, observes that the Eskimos stroked him when he was welcomed into the group. Similar occurrences have been reported by later observers:

> One of the stereotypes about Eskimos is they are stoics; actually they are not, except in relationships with whites. Among themselves they are great patters, huggers, kissers; lots of touching happens between girls and girls, women and women; both sexes and all babies . . . The minute you get "in" with any group, you are also "in" a physical, emotional way, too, to a much greater extent than our culture considers normal. Conversational distance is much reduced (Pender, 1971).

From its virtual absence in the education literature, the subject of affectionate touchings between teacher and student appears to be a taboo topic. Where a teacher is able to use comfortably this primary communication channel, he may find it a powerful means of communicating warmth, especially toward Indian and Eskimo students who are accustomed to a larger degree of warm physical contact and who may view touching as a signal of social acceptance. As Peace Corps cross-cultural training manuals warn, people from cultures in which touching is frequent tend to view middle class Americans as cold and superior because they do not engage in physical contact (Leach, 1969).

In sum, those teachers who succeeded in eliciting a high level of verbal participation from Native students tended to respond to them with intense personal warmth, rather than maintaining a stance of professional distance. Teachers communicated such feelings by developing friendships with students outside of the classroom in

ways that some who hold a narrow view of the teacher's professional role might consider inappropriate. Teachers communicated personal warmth within the classroom in large part through nonverbal messages of smiling, close body distance, and touch. Such nonverbal communications were especially effective in integrated classrooms because teachers could convey personal warmth to the village student without drawing special attention toward him.

In many studies, teacher warmth has been found to be a central dimension of teacher behavior, which, among white students, is related to many desirable academic outcomes, such as classroom attentiveness (Ryans, 1960), work productivity (Cogan, 1958), interest in science (Reed, 1961b), and achievement (McKeachie and Lin, 1971; McKeachie, Lin, Milholland and Issacson, 1966; Christensen, 1960). However, the effects of teacher warmth upon the intellectual performance of Indian and Eskimo students does not appear to have been examined through empirical measures.

For this reason, two exploratory studies were done to determine if teacher warmth indeed was related to Indian and Eskimo students' learning. In the first study,[3] Indian and Eskimo students in two urban integrated schools were asked to rate the emotional climate of the classroom in three academic subjects. Then, both the students and their teachers in each subject were asked to assess students' participation in classroom discussions. A moderately strong relationship was consistently found between students' perception of a positive classroom climate and a high level of verbal participation. In the second study,[4] Indian and Eskimo students were given tests of intellectual performance using in one case a nonverbally warm style—smiling, close body distance, mutually seated posture--and in the other case a nonverbally cold style—impassive expression, far body distance, and teacher standing. Where the warm style was used, Indian and Eskimo students were found to perform significantly higher on the intellectual tests. These studies, in sum, tended to support the classroom observations suggesting that teacher warmth led to higher verbal participation and increased learning among Indian and Eskimo students.

[3]Details of this study may be found in Appendix I.

[4]Details of this study may be found in Appendix II.

It seems possible that teacher warmth may have stronger effects among village Indian and Eskimo students than among white students. It is often suggested that students who are task-oriented may prefer and learn more with a task-oriented impersonal teacher, while students who are attuned to the social dimension of the classroom may prefer and learn more with an interpersonally oriented, warm teacher. Some evidence for this view has been presented by St. John (1971), who found that black students' reading achievement gains were higher with an interpersonally oriented teacher, while white students gained more with a task-oriented teacher.[5] Whether there are cross-cultural differences in the effects of warmth upon achievement, however, these studies suggest the crucial importance of teacher warmth upon the intellectual performance of village Indian and Eskimo students.

Active Demandingness versus Passive Understanding

Personal warmth, while a necessary condition for eliciting a high level of intellectual performance from Indian and Eskimo students, is not sufficient in itself. Where teachers were warm but required little, village students tended to talk freely to the teacher but did not participate in academic work. The second factor that differentiated effective and ineffective teachers was the extent to which they actively demanded a high level of academic work. "Demandingness" is not as central in the literature on teacher effectiveness as personal warmth. However, demandingness is similar to such dimensions as academic standards (McKeachie and Lin, 1969) and teacher expectations (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968), which appear to be important to student achievement.

Active demandingness may have special importance in a cross-cultural teaching situation for several reasons. First, teachers in a cross-cultural context tend to be more uncertain of the relevance and legitimacy of their requirements and hence tend to be more hesitant about demanding a high level of academic work. Second,

[5]This hypothesis is also supported by findings that teacher warmth is more strongly related to the achievement of women students, who tend to be more interpersonally oriented (McKeachie and Lin, 1971), and to the achievement of those men students who show high needs for affiliation (McKeachie *et al.*, 1966).

Indian and Eskimo students, while actually fearful in the threatening school stiuation, in many instances attempt to evade stressful learning tasks by playing the role of "shy Native." Many students have found over the years that white teachers expect Native students to stare mutely at the floor when confronted with an academic demand. Students then learn to use this behavior to avoid difficult tasks. Third, village Indian and Eskimo students tend to have low academic self-concepts, which means that they themselves underestimate what they can actually do. Thus, if a student is to produce what he is capable of, the teacher must demand more than the students thinks he can do.

When asked the key to their success with village students, the effective teachers almost invariably replied "I demand." They scorned those instructors who babied Native students and gave them only "loving kindness." They insisted upon a high level of academic work. Where the overly sensitive teacher soon stopped calling upon Native students who responded to questions by mute withdrawal, for example, these teachers continued to call on them. If the student did not respond, they casually passed on with a murmured, "We'll come back to you."

These teachers did not, of course, make demands that were beyond the student's capacity. Most important, they avoided making difficult demands until rapport had been established. After a personal relationship developed between teacher and student, the student was able to interpret the teacher's academic demandingness as another expression of his personal concern.

CHAPTER IV

A TYPOLOGY OF TEACHERS

Classifying teachers of Indian and Eskimo students on the two dimensions that appear to be central in eliciting intellectual participation—personal warmth versus professional distance and active demandingness versus passive understanding—yields a typology of four kinds of teachers.[1] (See Figure 1.) These four classes should be viewed as ideal types, which, of course, do not adequately describe every teacher. However, these types do correspond closely to characteristic syndromes of teacher behavior that are easily observable in classrooms.

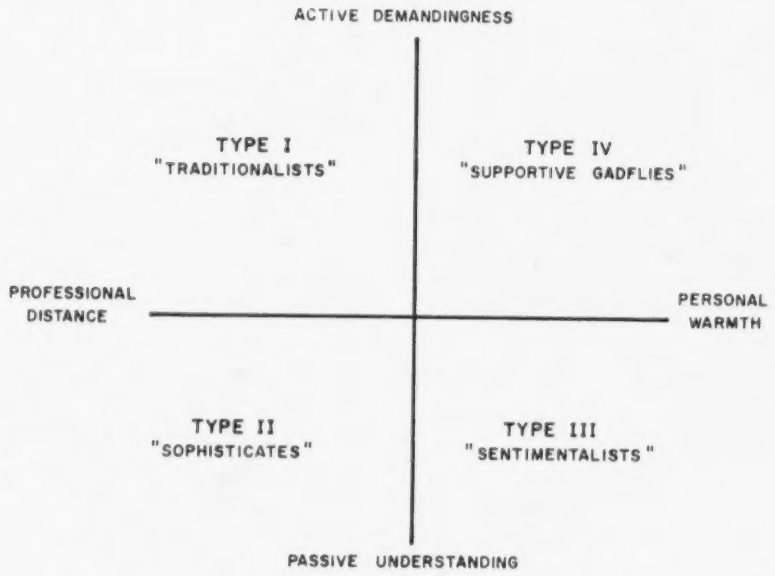
Type I: Professional Distance-Active Demandingness -- "Traditionalists"

The traditionalist, a type of teacher who has been in some ways unjustifiably maligned in contemporary education thought, tended to concentrate his attention exclusively on the academic subject matter and to ignore the interpersonal dimension of the classroom, which he considered a professionally illegitimate area of concern.

[1]Teacher warmth and demandingness have been found to be independent dimensions of teacher behavior so such a typology is appropriate (Reed, 1961b). Similar dimensions have been found to be important in other types of cross-cultural relationships such as boarding home parent (Kleinfeld, 1972) or counselor (Richards, 1972) where the goal is to enable an individual to acquire the skills necessary for competent autonomy.

FIGURE 1

A Typology of Teachers of Indian and Eskimo Students



These teachers' personalities and educational theories generally led them to prefer a formally presented, highly structured lesson such as a lecture. Ironically, however, more innovative teachers who attempted to teach courses relevant to village students' background, such as Native Studies, often found themselves teaching in a traditionalist fashion as well, because unavailable curriculum materials forced these teachers to do their own research, which was easiest to present through a lecture.

For academically competent urban students who were also subject matter oriented, the traditionalist could be a successful, stimulating teacher. However, this formal, impersonal teaching style, which relied in the main on oral comprehension, tended to be disasterous with village Indian and Eskimo students.

When the traditionalist taught in an integrated classroom, he tended to focus his attention on those students who were similarly subject matter oriented, and the Indian and Eskimo students tended to be ignored.[2]

> Mr. W. is a nervous man with a perpetually strained facial expression. The students are seated in rows with the Indian and Eskimo students predominantly in the far left corner of the classroom.
>
> During the observation, Mr. W. stood behind his desk lecturing. He did not smile except at the observer, and his lecture and occasional questions were interlaced with constant sarcasm such as "That's a good attitude!" He placed a summary of the main concepts of the lecture, highly technical terms, on the board. The Indian and Eskimo students dutifully wrote down the words.
>
> In a later interview, Mr. W. voiced serious concern for village students and noted that their main problem in the class was vocabulary. They couldn't understand what he was saying. While some village students work, Mr. W. observed, others sit in the back of the room and read comic books. "The other kids," Mr. W. mentioned, "tell me that the Native students are afraid of me because I yell at them. Well, I do jump on them when they are slack on work."
>
> Some of the Indian and Eskimo students complained to their counselor that Mr. W. was prejudiced, and the counselor was attempting to remove them from his class.

[2]All identifying characteristics of these teachers have been changed. In some cases, the portrait is a composite of very similar teachers.

In contrast, when the traditionalist taught in an all-Native classroom, where similarly task-oriented students were not available to provide these teachers with the satisfaction of subject mastery, the class reached a deadlock. Teacher-student interaction in these classrooms resembled the situations commonly described in the Indian education literature—a silent Native peer group united against a carping, hostile teacher who was insensitive to the interpersonal values that far outweighed his paltry achievement concerns.

> Mrs. M. is an older woman who was formerly an assistant principal. The setting is intended to be an open classroom with carpet, movable chairs, and space enough for several teachers to work together. Mrs. M. has appropriated her space, walled it in with bookcases, and lined up her students in neat rows.
>
> Throughout the observation, Mrs. M. glowered at her class. "What is the name of this village on the Yukon?", she challenged, pointing to a large map. The class remained silent, although it seemed unlikely that no one knew the answer, since several students came from the village. One young man raised his hand and asked for a pencil. "No, you don't need a pencil because we *don't mark* on papers," Mrs. M. snapped. "Now come on. You may not know now, but believe me you will by the time I get through with you."
>
> In a later interview, Mrs. M. said that she found this teaching situation extremely frustrating because she wanted to teach but the students would not learn. "These kids aren't as dumb as they like to make us think," she observed. "They just play dumb. I'm not teaching anything. They're just wasting their money paying me. I'm not doing my job."

Type II: Professional Distance-Passive Understanding – "Sophisticates"

For urbane, highly verbal students, these teachers were a delight. Their professional distance was not coldness so much as sophisticated reserve. Their humor was subtle, tending toward irony. They preferred a discussion class where they could help students discover intellectual concepts for themselves. The sophisticate teachers tended to be highly educated and well-traveled. They often had an excellent background in anthropology and were very concerned about the welfare of village Indian and Eskimo students in their classes.

As teachers of village Indian and Eskimo students, however, the sophisticates tended to be failures. In an integrated classroom, the teacher generally found himself teaching to urban students, while the Indian and Eskimo students watched in tense apprehension. Accustomed to the highly structured textbooks and programmed learning materials of many village schools, village students rarely understood what was expected of them in these classrooms. With their limited English skills, they would have had a difficult time entering the fast paced classroom repartee had they wanted to. In addition, village students often were frightened by these teachers' ironic comments and indirect techniques, such as playing "Devil's Advocate," since they might not understand them.

> Miss R., a young teacher dressed in Carnaby Street style, has seated her students in a circle. She began a discussion of the film just shown, an account of a foreign revolt that draws symbolic parallels to repression in American politics. She attempted to enable students to grasp the symbolic implications of the film by skillful indirect questions. The Native students remained silent, while the other students excitedly called out the answers. Finally, one student got the point of the film. The teacher then responded in a tone of mock horror, "You mean there is no freedom in America?" The Native students' eyes widened in fear, and they squirmed further down in their seats.

In their concern with the Native students, these teachers made many attempts to be supportive and to establish a sense of camaraderie. These attempts, however, tended to backfire, since students often misinterpreted their humor. An interpersonal approach that might have established rapport between the teacher and a sophisticasted urban student merely frightened the village student:

> An Eskimo girl asked Mr. D. for a hall pass. "What color of slips are we using today;" Mr. D. teased, "blue, green, or chartreuse? You know it isn't easy to work in a police state." The girl stared at him in confusion and hastily ran out into the hall.

While sophisticated teachers in integrated classrooms did little damage beyond making village students feel uncomfortable and teaching them little, the sophisticate in an all-Native classroom could do serious harm. Interested in the psychology of Native students, these teachers often focused on Native-white differences and reinforced students' sense of being different and estranged. While the

following interaction was stimulated by the videotaping process, it is not dissimilar from what happens in other classes of this type:

> Mr. G. was teaching an all-Native orientation class in a large urban school. He attempted to produce an informal classroom atmosphere by sitting casually on his desk top with the students placed in a circle. However, his other nonverbal communications negated this carefully planned message. Mr. G.'s hunched posture with his arms wound tightly around his body, communicated withdrawal and reserve. The students were seated in a circle, but had moved their chairs to the edges of the room so the camera panned from the teacher to the class in great physical and psychological vistas.
>
> The camera man teased the students, "O.K. say cheese." Mr. G. added nervously, "You are assimilated into white man's culture. You know you are supposed to smile when he says cheese." The students giggled apprehensively. "Why is he taking a picture of this class?" Mr. G. asked. There is no response except more nervous giggling. "Do you think if this were a white class he'd be here?" contined Mr. G. Again, there was no response. "He's here because there are quite a number of Natives here. What is the difference about this class?" One Native boy raised his hand and said, "Because people who have different backgrounds should share their opinions." Ignoring the opportunity to develop this student's ideas, Mr. G dismissed his answer with a curt "No. There are other classes where students have different backgrounds like there are black kids in this school. What's different about this class? What do most of the Native students have in common?" Another student called out, "Skin color." "No, no, no," Mr. G. said quickly, horrified by the racism implied.
>
> In a later interview, Mr. G. commented that he had a difficult time making the students understand that they were in a special orientation class because they came from villages and were different. "'If white kids were sitting here,' I said to them, 'wouldn't they be arguing and noisy?' You know, the Native kids made negative comments about the white kids' verbalness. Perhaps Natives associate loud talking with aggressiveness and a white identity. That's an interesting thought," he mused.

These sophisticated teachers had a tendency to use Native students to advance their own anthropological interests. In the course of lessons on Native culture, they might socialize village students into the stereotyped role behavior that their anthropological studies had led them to expect:

> Mr. N. was reading Indian poetry to the class in a somewhat affected tone. The poems, written in pidgin English, illustrated the Indian value of modesty. In explaining the poem, however, Mr. N. expanded, "Now this poem shows many of the things we've talked about. We've commented on how most of the Native people aren't aggressive, nowhere nearly as much as white people. The idea of competition and bragging and boasting are alien to them, and so we think of them as very quiet and shy and insecure."

These teachers' fascination with cultural differences also led them to be excessively willing to place village students in a special category and to make exceptions for them. Such misplaced kindness taught the village student to become dependent on white people's largesse rather than his own capabilities.

> After class, an Indian girl came up to Mrs. L. and told her that she had been sick and had missed the last test. "What should I study for it?" she asked. "Don't worry," Mrs. L. said kindly, "I'll make up a special test for you and you will do well on it." "But I don't know what to study," the girl persisted. "Don't worry," repeated Mrs. L., basking in self-approval, "I'll make it special for you. You'll do well."

Type III: Personal Warmth-Passive Understanding – "Sentimentalists"

These teachers tended to be extremely warm, kindly people who found it difficult to make demands upon any students, village or urban. The urban students, taking advantage of the teacher's weakness, tended to defy even his minimal requirements, and the teacher reacted with aggrieved anger. The Indian and Eskimo students, in contrast, were usually too insecure to challenge the teacher and valued his personal attentions. Thus, the sentimentalist teacher in the integrated classroom found himself in a situation where he was behaving with angry irritation toward the urban students, who defied him, but with great kindliness toward the village students, who permitted him to act in the warm, undemanding style he preferred. This apparent teacher favoritism in turn angered the urban students, already resentful of the special treatment accorded village students in the school. The result of this complex interaction between the teacher and different student groups tended to be a situation where the warmth of the teacher toward the village student was nullified by the hostility of classmates.

> Mrs. M., an outcast among the other teachers because of certain oddities, strongly identifies with the village students. The students had arranged themselves in a double circle. Two Native girls were sitting together close to the teacher's desk in the inner circle with a number of empty chairs separating them from the other students in this first circle. In the back circle two Native boys were seated next to other students.
>
> Mrs. M. attempted to have the class talk about a movie she had just shown. "What do you think is happening?" she asked. There was no response from the class, and Mrs. M. repeated the question. The class began to make silly responses, teasing the teacher, but she ignored or pretended to ignore them. In the midst of the lesson, the teacher walked over to the two Native girls and held a private conversation inaudible to the observer. The lesson stopped as the teacher and the girls giggled together. When the teacher moved away, the Native girls whispered to each other in Eskimo. Two girls in the outer circle mocked the guttural Eskimo sounds, "Dong, dong, dong." The faces of the Native boys sitting next to them contracted into stoic masks.

Extremely sympathetic to the difficulties of Native students in integrated classrooms, these sentimentalist teachers made few demands upon them, and little learning took place.

> An older Indian student sauntered into his last period class, sat down, and stared out the window. Mrs. O. came up to him, put her arm around him, and joked about a comment he had made. He smiled back at her and told her about his weekend. The lesson began and he returned to staring out the window. Mrs. O. made no attempt to induce him to participate in the classwork, although she continued to joke with him at intervals.
>
> In a later interview, Mrs. O. observed that she was very easy going and believed in a laissez-faire theory of education. "After all," she said, "you can't make students learn."

While the sentimentalist teacher in an integrated classroom could damage the Native student by arousing urban students' resentments, the sentimentalist teacher in an all-Native classroom did little damage if little good. The class generally performed trivial, workbook type assignments that did not stretch their capacities.

> Mrs. L., a young teacher with a gentle smile, had given her ninth grade students the assignment of tracing a chart. She wandered around and joked with the students. After a while,

she sat at a table and began a game unrelated to the work. "Who would like to make $10.00? Let's see if you can do this match trick!"

Type IV: Personal Warmth-Active Demandingness – "Supportive Gadflies"

The supportive gadfly teachers tended to be highly successful with both urban and village students in both integrated and all-Native classrooms. The teaching style that elicited a high level of intellectual participation with village students tended to be more obvious in all-Native classrooms because the teacher could more easily emphasize certain behaviors. Similar methods were used more subtly, however, in integrated classrooms.

In contrast to most other teachers, who plunged immediately into academic work, these teachers spent a substantial amount of time at the beginning of the year establishing positive interpersonal relationships, not only between teacher and students, but also within the student group. Interestingly, a similar procedure is recommended in cross-cultural training manuals. A frequent reason that task-oriented westerners may fail to accomplish their goals in a cross-cultural encounter is that they attempt to begin business at once, when members of other cultural groups may consider a lengthy period devoted exclusively to establishing appropriate social relationships as a task prerequisite. Thus, these teachers might spend the first days getting to know the students and helping them with non-academic problems, such as how to find their classes or how to work the combination to their lockers. They also made sure that the students knew each other. One teacher, for example, began the year by playing a game where each student had to learn the name and village of each of the other students in the classroom and call them out loudly enough to be understood. "Before we could bring them up in the academic area," one teacher summed up, "we tried to get them to feel comfortable in the situation. Once they feel comfortable, then they catch up quickly."

Only after rapport had been established did these teachers become demanding. However, their demands were inevitably accompanied by a warm smile, gentle teasing, and other forms of support. Thus, village students did not interpret the teacher's demandingness as bossiness, to which Indian and Eskimo students, accustomed to equalitarian relationships, are very sensitive. Rather, they interpreted the teacher's

demandingness as one more facet of his personal concern for them. To produce a high level of academic work then becomes their reciprocal obligation in the personal relationships. The emotional intensity between teacher and student in many of the classroom encounters, where academic performance becomes unified into the obligations and privileges of personal bonds, is difficult to describe. One teacher, for example, made a solemn pact with a withdrawn boy, promising that she would stay with him and help him find the answer as long as necessary if he would only try to say anything except "I don't know" in response to every question.

> Sometimes he would actually bite his tongue to stop from saying "I don't know." He was so used to it. It had saved him from his other teachers. I know it was hard for him to translate everything back and forth from Eskimo and easy for him to avoid the situation by saying "I don't know." But we worked very hard on it.

Unlike the sentimentalists, these teachers used concentrated intimacy, not only to establish personal rapport, but also to increase academic performance:

> Mrs. C. is an elegantly attired Native woman with a radiant smile. She sat casually on top of a student's desk in the middle of the class and leaned into the group of village students.
>
> "Who can tell me what a topic sentence is?" she inquired, with an air suggesting that this information was a personal secret to be shared between her and the class. "I see one hand, two hands." She waited calmly, smiling at the class with anticipation. "Three hands, four, O.K., Tom." Tom said softly, "Main idea." She smiled at him, waiting. Then she leaned toward him and whispered in an intimate tone, "I can't hear you." Rearing up in his seat with great effort, he repeated more loudly, "MAIN IDEA," and slumped back beaming. Other students began to call out, "Thing you're going to write about." "What you're talking about." "Very good," Mrs. C. said, "Very, very good. Now, who would like to read their paper to the class?" "Loud and clear, please," she added with decision.
>
> In a later interview, Mrs. C. commented that her problem was not to get village students to talk but to get them to keep quiet. "They're so eager," she explained, "even on deadly things like English grammar. They are reluctant, but they will do it if you demand it. One of the kids came up to me yesterday and said, 'You act like a sergeant.' 'Yup,' I said, 'that's exactly right.'"

While demanding a high level of intellectual participation, these teachers were highly supportive of any attempt the student did make. They very consciously avoided even the most minor forms of direct criticism. As one teacher said:

> You know why they won't talk in class? Because every time they open up their mouth somebody corrects them. We give them constant reassurance that mistakes don't matter. You have to be positive and try not to say "no" or "wrong." I say "you're close" or I change the question to fit the answer. For example, if you say "What is a verb?" and they answer "Name of a person, place, or thing," I say "That's a beautiful answer for the question 'What is a noun?' And we'll talk about nouns later . . . "

Teachers commented that what seemed to them to be the most mild of critical remarks could cause village students to retreat into silence indefinitely. Indian and Eskimo students' sensitivity to criticism may by due in part to the difference in style of reproof used in their cultures. Criticism occurs predominently through indirect means or subtle nonverbal signals (Briggs, 1970; VanNess, 1971). Students who are accustomed to such mild methods of reproof are likely to consider the direct remarks that are mild by western standards to be much more severe than intended.

These teachers used a number of different methods to avoid directly criticizing students. One of these techniques, a strategy common among Indian and Eskimo vilagers, was to impersonalize a situation where a particular individual might be accused of wrong-doing. The wrong-doing is discussed in the presence of the offender, but without personal reference to him. For example, at a village meeting, the problem of getting work done in the community might be brought up without mentioning the names of the offenders, who are sitting at the meeting and whose identity everybody knows. Similarly, a teacher approaching a daydreaming student might say not "Why did you close your book?" but rather "Why is that book closed? Did the wind blow it shut?"

Another indirect method of criticism used by these teachers, which is also common among Indians and Eskimos, is the penetrating, direct stare (Dickeman, 1969; Briggs, 1970). Teachers were often amazed at the sensitivity of more traditional village students to this control strategy. Since it does function as a disciplinary measure, teachers learned to avoid a direct stare where disapproval was not intended, for example, in asking a question. The

penetrating gaze that white people commonly use to signal interest in the speaker may be interpreted by Indians and Eskimos as a display of anger (Hall, 1969b; Zintz, 1963).

Joking was another way these teachers expressed criticism. Joking is an extremely important expressive mode among Indians and Eskimos because it provides a form for releasing aggression and tension, strongly disapproved of within the village group, in the guise of humorous teasing (Spindler and Spindler, 1957; Briggs, 1970). The appropriate style of joking is broad, straight-faced joshing. Thus, a teacher might say to a misbehaving student in a tone that mocked not only the seriousness of the rebuke, but also the teacher herself as a self-important white person who used big words. "Jack, I am IN-QUIR-ING of you what you are doing?" A "practical joker" strain is a core element of modal Indian personality (Spindler and Spindler, 1957), and popular teachers often found themselves a chagrined victim of village students' often earthy jokes.

In integrated classrooms, these supportive gadfly teachers often structured the class in ways largely to the village students' benefit, but they avoided giving village students any special attention that would attract the notice of the other students. For example, since the teacher had a difficult time using village students' facial expressions or verbal responses to determine if they understood a concept, he might ask a question and tell all students to write down the answer. Then he would go around the room barely glancing at papers other than those of the village students. Similarly, realizing that the village students often did badly on tests not because they did not know the information, but rather because they could not understand the vocabulary or intent of the questions, these teachers might make up several versions of the same test for all students. These teachers also tended to individualize classwork so that personal tutoring of village students could be accepted as a matter of course.

These teachers in an integrated classroom situation also controlled urban students' animosities so that village students could participate without fear of being laughed at. Some teachers carefully headed off anticipated hostility by such remarks as "This is new to all of us so let's not be a critical audience." Others attempted to increase the Native student's status in the classroom group by devising lessons that emphasized his competencies. One science teacher, for example, found that the problem of urban students'

mocking village students abruptly stopped after he assigned a paper on how to survive if lost while hunting. A few teachers attempted to combat inter-group suspicions by assignments where urban and village students worked together in teams Resistance to this idea generally came from the Native students who protested, sometimes with tears, that "the white kids don't like us."

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The essence of the instructional style that elicits a high level of intellectual performance from village Indian and Eskimo students is to create an extremely warm personal relationship and, within it, to actively demand a high level of academic work. Village students thus interpret the teacher's demandingness not as bossiness or hostility, but rather as an expression of his personal concern. Meeting the teacher's academic standards becomes their reciprocal obligation in an intensely personal relationship.

While such "supportive gadfly" teachers who are effective with Indian and Eskimo students also tend to be effective with urban students, the converse is not true. Teachers who are highly successful with urban students may be unsuccessful with village students (see Figure 2). Teaching village students, in sum, is a specialized situation for which many otherwise excellent teachers may not be personally suited.

The "traditionalist" teacher, who concentrates on academic work to the exclusion of the interpersonal dimension may, if he has other desirable qualities, be excellent with urban students. In an integrated classroom, the traditionalist teacher tends to focus on the instruction of those students who share his task orientation, and the

FIGURE 2

Effective Teachers and
Culturally Different Student Groups

	UNSUCCESSFUL WITH VILLAGE INDIAN & ESKIMO STUDENTS	SUCCESSFUL WITH VILLAGE INDIAN & ESKIMO STUDENTS
SUCCESSFUL WITH URBAN WHITE & BLACK STUDENTS	TYPE I* PROFESSIONAL DISTANCE – ACTIVE DEMANDINGNESS "TRADITIONALISTS" TYPE II* PROFESSIONAL DISTANCE – PASSIVE UNDERSTANDING "SOPHISTICATES"	TYPE IV PERSONAL WARMTH – ACTIVENESS DEMANDINGNESS "SUPPORTIVE GADFLIES"
UNSUCCESSFUL WITH URBAN WHITE & BLACK STUDENTS	TYPE III PERSONAL WARMTH – PASSIVE UNDERSTANDING "SENTIMENTALISTS"	

*Not all teachers of these types were successful with urban students. Teacher effectiveness depended on other characteristics which are not reviewed here.

village student is ignored. In an all-Native classroom, in contrast, the traditionalist teacher generally creates an emotional climate of hostility rather than simple indifference. The student peer group unites against him in passive resistance to learning demands unaccompanied by personal concern, and the traditionalist teacher responds with angry frustration.

At the other extreme is the "sentimentalist" teacher, who expresses his warm sympathy for village students by yielding to the temptation of making everything as easy as possible for them. Such practices elicit little growth. While sentimentalist teachers in all-Native classrooms do little damage if little good, in integrated classrooms these teachers can be dangerous. Their preferred warm, undemanding style leads urban students to misbehave and to test the limits of their passivity. Thus, the sentimentalist teacher in the integrated classroom tends to find himself reacting with hostile irritation toward urban students, but with warm understanding toward the village students. Resenting this apparent favoritism, urban students tend to mock the village students, thus confirming Native students' initial fears of prejudice and rejection.

The "sophisticate" teacher's style of detached reserve, together with his intellectual orientation and overconcern with cultural differences, creates a classroom situation lacking both in personal warmth and active demandingness. In an integrated classroom, the sophisticate, although much concerned with village students, finds himself teaching to urban students, while the village students listen with apprehension to the repartee. While the sentimentalist does more damage in integrated classrooms, the sophisticate causes greater harm in all-Native classrooms. His intellectual interest in Indian and Eskimo culture often leads him to focus on the cultural differences of the students, which contributes to their sense of inferiority and isolation. In addition, these teachers often communicate expectations of modal Native behavior patterns—shyness, noncompetitiveness, concrete thinking—that become self-fulfilling prophecies.

In the past, it was the traditionalist, especially the highly ethnocentric traditionalist, who most frequently epitomized the undersirable teacher of Indian and Eskimo students. This type of teacher, with his comical horror of eating fish soup rather than bacon and eggs for breakfast, can still be found. However, he is becoming less and less frequent in cross-cultural education. Rather,

sentimentalist and sophisticate teachers are emerging as a new and perhaps more insidious danger, since their evident good motives make then less recognizable. These teachers misinterpret the current emphasis on freedom in education and on adapting instruction to cultural differences to mean that they should make virtually no intellectual demands upon their students. They tend to rationalize their failure to teach by theories about cultural relativism, just as the traditionalist teachers rationalize their failure by theories about cultural deprivation.

Through what methods can schools improve the quality of teaching received by village high school students? Pre-service and in-service training programs may help to increase teaching effectiveness. Their effects, however, should not be overestimated. The impact of short-term training programs on fundamental interpersonal orientations, such as personal warmth, which may depend on early family and peer group experiences (Reed, 1961a), is probably quite limited. Teacher training programs, however, could help teachers who find it difficult to communicate personal warmth to learn to arrange their classrooms in informal ways that facilitate personal relationships with students. Moreover, such training programs can also serve an important function in legitimizing active demandingness so that teachers come to view high academic standards, not passive sympathy, as the appropriate expression of their concern for village students.

Careful teacher selection procedures also can probably do a great deal to improve the quality of village students' instruction. This study suggests the dangers of relying primarily on self-selection of teachers for village students. While the traditionalist teacher may indeed prefer to teach groups of students who are more task-oriented than village students, the sentimentalist and sophisticate teachers, as well as the supportive gadflies, tend to volunteer for teaching assignments with village students. Moreover, sentimentalist teachers are likely to impress school personnel favorably because of their obviously overwhelming concern for village students. Sophisticate teachers may make a similarly good impression because of their excellent anthropological backgrounds and great interest in Native students. School personnel should be aware of both the personal warmth and active demandingness required of effective teachers of village students, and thus avoid the creation of classroom situations that are demoralizing for the teacher and damaging for the student.

APPENDIX I

THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASSROOM CLIMATE TO THE VERBAL PARTICIPATION OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO STUDENTS IN INTEGRATED CLASSROOMS

The purpose of this study was to test empirically a hypothesis suggested by the ethnographic analysis—that a positive classroom climate led to greater verbal participation of Indian and Eskimo students in integrated classrooms. The relationship of verbal participation both to the general classroom climate and to the specific factor of classmate friendliness was examined, since many village students attribute their silence specifically to fear of humiliation by urban classmates.

Although stimulating widespread participation in class discussions is a central concern of many teachers, the empirical research on classroom participation is negligible. This lack of empirical research is surprising in view of the value placed on oral communication skills in western culture and in view of the general belief that participation in classroom discussion increases learning, since students must actively restructure the material (Cross and Nagle, 1970). Although research is lacking, there are numerous practical teacher guides that discuss the basis of non-participation and suggest teaching remedies (Alameda County, 1969; Cross and Nagle, 1970; Witter, 1967; Wolf, 1969). Some of these give special attention to the extreme withdrawal of Indian and Eskimo students (Osborn, 1967; Osborn, 1968). Implicit in these teaching guides is

the general theory, applicable to the Indian and Eskimo student in an integrated classroom, that refusal to speak in class is based primarily on the student's insecurity and lack of confidence in a threatening situation. A study of classroom participation among college students, which found that students who did not participate in classroom discussions tended to have lower self-esteem and a greater degree of insecurity as measured by personality tests, supports this view (Williams, 1971).

If fear of making errors before a critical teacher and peer group is a major cause of non-participation, then a warm and acceptant classroom climate should reduce such fear and thereby increase classroom participation. Although this process does not appear to have been examined empirically in the classroom, several studies have shown that a climate of warmth and acceptance in the related interview situation tends to increase the level of verbal participation of the interviewee (Reece and Whitman, 1962; Pope and Siegman, 1968). However, other studies have not consistently replicated this effect (William, 1970; Heller, Davis and Myers, 1966).

Method

Subjects

The subjects consisted of 42 Indian and Eskimo ninth grade students from small Alaskan villages who were attending two integrated urban high schools. Of this group, 28 students were Eskimo and 13 were Indian. There were 13 males and 28 females. Ninth graders were selected since they are new to the urban school and tend to be most withdrawn. The study was carried out, however, at the end of the school year, when some of the students had begun to speak in class.

Measures

Students' perception of classroom climate was assessed by Rabinowitz and Rosenbaum's (1958) Teacher-Pupil Rapport Scale. The validity of this scale is evidenced by its significant relationships both to observers' ratings and to a self-report inventory of teachers' classroom hostility. Reliability of the measure was found to be .89 (Rabinowitz and Rosenbaum, 1958).

This eight-item questionnaire (see Appendix III) should probably be considered a measure of total classroom climate rather than simply teacher-pupil rapport, since several items concern general feelings about the class, for example, "Do you have fun in this class?" Two very minor changes in wording were made to make the scale appropriate to the particular school situation. Students were asked to rate the classroom climate in their major academic subjects of English, mathematics, and science.

To assess perception of classmate friendliness, students were asked "Are most of the students in this class friendly to you?" in each major academic subject. No attempt was made to validate this item, and, as subsequent results suggest, it seems likely that this item was not a good measure despite its face validity.

To assess students' degree of participation in classroom discussions, both the students and their teachers were asked to rate participation in each academic subject on a four-point scale (see Appendix III). Concurrent validity of the teachers' and students' participation ratings was moderately high in science classes ($r = .48$, $p < .01$), although low in English classes ($r = .21$ n.s.).

The student questionnaire containing the measures of perceived classroom climate, perceived classmate friendliness, and the student's rating of his participation in classroom discussion for each of his English, science, and mathematics classes was mailed to all 59 Indian and Eskimo ninth grade village students in the school district, and 42 were returned. Such a 75 per cent response rate is reasonably high.

All five science teachers and all nine English teachers in the school district who had village Indian and Eskimo ninth graders in their classrooms returned their questionnaires rating student participation. However, only four of the seven mathematics teachers did so. Since these four mathematics teachers had few village students, mathematics teachers' participation ratings were dropped from the study.

Results

As is evident from the means and standard deviations of measures, village students tended to rate the friendliness of their classmates at a very high level (see Table 1). Considering the strength

TABLE 1

Means and Standard Deviations of Classroom Climate, Classmate Friendliness, and Students' and Teachers' Ratings of Intellectual Participation

	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Classroom Climate: English*	42	23.64	5.63
Classroom Climate: Science	41	23.41	6.07
Classroom Climate: Mathematics	41	24.95	6.21
Classmate Friendliness: English**	42	3.14	.98
Classmate Friendliness: Science	41	3.10	.96
Classmate Friendliness: Mathematics	41	3.02	1.01
Student Rating of English Participation*	42	2.26	.93
Student Rating of Science Participation	41	2.17	.93
Student Rating of Mathematics Participation	41	2.27	1.08
Teacher Rating of Student Participation: English***	40	1.80	1.12
Teacher Rating of Student Participation: Science	37	1.65	1.06

*The classroom climate scale ranged from 8 to 32 with a high score indicating perception of a positive classroom climate.

**The classmate friendliness scale ranged from 1 to 4 with a high score indicating perception of a high degree of friendliness.

***The teacher and student intellectual participation scale ranged from 1 to 4 with a high score indicating high participation.

of village students' fears of classmate hostility suggested by the ethnographic study, this high rating raises doubts about the validity of the measure. Possibly such positive ratings indicate village students' denial of classmates' negative feelings in view of their intense desire to be liked. A similar process occurred in another study of village students' boarding home parents where students often insisted that boarding home parents were "nice" even though they had requested to be removed from their homes (Kleinfeld, 1972).

Village students' perception of the classroom climate showed a moderately strong relationship to their degree of participation in academic discussions in each of their English, science, and mathematics classes. This relationship held when either students' ratings (see Table 2) or teachers' ratings were used as an index of participation (see Table 3). Thus, the major hypothesis was sustained.

TABLE 2

Relationship Between Classroom Climate, Classmate Friendliness, and Students' Ratings of Intellectual Participation

Students' Ratings	Classroom Climate	Classmate Friendliness (Student)
English Participation	.31*	.10
Science Participation	.45**	.28
Mathematics Participation	.41**	.43**

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

Relationships between students' perception of classmate friendliness and participation, however, were small, with the exception of one instance. It is possible that this result is due to the inadequacy of the measure of classmate friendliness, as explained above.

TABLE 3

Relationship Between Classroom Climate, Classmate Friendliness, and Teachers' Ratings of Intellectual Participation

Teachers' Ratings	Classroom Climate	Classmate Friendliness
English Participation	.45*	-.15
Science Participation	.36*	.13

*$p < .01$

Conclusions

This study suggests that a positive classroom climate may increase the verbal participation of typically withdrawn village Indian and Eskimo adolescents in integrated urban classrooms, However, the relationships found between classroom climate and verbal participation could have other explanations. It is possible, for example, that the causal relationship is in the opposite direction. Indian and Eskimo students who talk more in class may perceive the classroom atmosphere more positively. While experimental studies are necessary to establish causality, this study does provide support for the importance the ethnographic study ascribes to a positive classroom climate in increasing village students' intellectual achievement.

APPENDIX II

EFFECTS OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION OF PERSONAL WARMTH ON THE INTELLIGENCE TEST PERFORMANCE OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO ADOLESCENTS

Introduction

The ethnographic study suggested that teacher warmth, especially as communicated by nonverbal cues such as smiling, body distance, and postural stance, increased the intellectual performance of Indian and Eskimo students. The purpose of this study was to test the causal hypothesis that higher teacher warmth increases intellectual performance by experimental methods.

For white students, the relationship between warmth and task performance has been reasonably well established. As previously reviewed, several studies have found a relationship between teacher warmth and students' intellectual performance, as measured by alertness in class (Ryans, 1960), classwork productivity (Cogan, 1958), and academic achievement (McKeachie and Lin, 1971; McKeachie *et al.*, 1966). In a number of experimental studies, reviewed by Rosenthal (1966), examiner warmth was found to increase performance level on a wide variety of tasks. In the specific

area of intelligence test performance, Gordon and Durea (1948) found that examiner warmth communicated through verbal praise and encouragement led to a difference of about six points in the intelligence test performance of white eighth graders. Exner (1966) found that examiner warmth, communicated in a pretesting interview, led to a difference of about nine points in performance intelligence test scores and about six points in performance intelligence test scores. Crow (1964) found that examiner warmth, communicated by the nonverbal cues of smiling, leaning toward subjects, and eye contact, led to higher performance on the homemade version of the digit-symbol intelligence subtest, although not in more rote tasks. The relationship between warmth and the intellectual performance of Indian and Eskimo students, however, has not been examined.

The nonverbal cues that communicate personal warmth may differ somewhat across cultures. Although smiling, leaning toward, and direct eye contact have been used as cues of personal warmth for white subjects, it seems likely that direct eye contact, which connotes anger and aggression among Indians (Hall, 1969b), might serve rather as a cue of coldness. The present study examined the influence of those cues of personal warmth that the ethnographic analysis had suggested were central to communicating personal warmth to Indian and Eskimo adolescents—smiling, close body distance, and mutually seated postural stance.

Method

Subjects

The subjects consisted of 15 Indian and Eskimo students from small Alaskan villages who were attending a large urban high school. Of this group, nine students were Indian and six were Eskimo. There were nine female and six male students.

Procedures

The students had been given the full Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale in the counseling program, and these scores served as baseline measures.

Students were randomly assigned to the nonverbal cold and nonverbal warm groups and retested on two subtests about three weeks later by a counselor-trainee, who was a black male. The retesting was explained to students as a reliability study. The subtests selected were the Digit-Symbol, a learning task within the experimental situation where acquisition might be influenced by the personal warmth of the examiner, and Information, where learning occurred outside the experimental situation, but where response productivity might be influenced by personal warmth. Performance on Digit-Symbol subtest has been found to be especially influenced by examiner warmth (Exner, 1966; Crow, 1964).

In the nonverbal warmth condition, the examiner sat 30 inches away from the subject (chest-to-chest), which Hall (1969a) defines as a personal distance, generating a kinesthetic sense of closeness. The examiner and the subject sat at right angles, a postural stance which connotes more a cooperative than competitive interaction (Sommer, 1965). The examiner also smiled as he gave the test. In the nonverbal, cold condition, the examiner sat 80 inches from the subject, which Hall (1969a) defines as the distance at which impersonal business occurs. The examiner stood while the subject was seated, a stance which, at this distance, has a domineering effect (Hall 1969a). The examiner did not smile as he gave the test.

Results

Change scores were analyzed by the Mann-Whitney U test, since the sample was small and it was not clear whether the statistical assumptions of the t test could be met. As Table 4 indicates, on the Digit-Symbol subtest, six of the seven subjects achieved higher scores when retested in the warm condition and one remained the same. In the cold condition, three of the eight subjects lost points while four remained the same and one gained points. The difference between change scores is significant at the .014 level. It should be noted that the six-point gain of one student in the nonverbal cold condition was so extreme as to suggest he had not understood the test during the first administration. While several statisticians suggested he be eliminated from the data analysis, he was retained in order to adopt the most conservative approach.

TABLE 4

Change Scores of Indian and Eskimo Students on Digit-Symbol Subtest

Mann-Whitney U Test Analysis

	Initial Score	Re-test Score	Change
Nonverbal Warmth Group			
1	6	9	+3
2	9	11	+2
3	10	11	+1
4	8	11	+3
5	9	9	0
6	11	12	+1
7	8	11	+3
Nonverbal Cold Group			
1	10	10	0
2	11	10	-1
3	7	13	+6
4	12	12	0
5	9	8	-1
6	10	10	0
7	15	14	-1
8	10	10	0

$U = 9$
$p < .014$

As Table 5 indicates, on the Information subtest, five of the seven subjects gained points, whereas one lost points and one remained the same when retested in the nonverbal warmth condition. In the nonverbal cold condition, five of the eight subjects lost points, two remained the same, and one gained points. This difference in change scores is significant at the .027 level.

TABLE 5

Change Scores of Indian and Eskimo Students of Information Subtest

Mann-Whitney U Test Analysis

	Initial Score	Re-test Score	Change
Nonverbal Warmth Group			
1	8	11	+3
2	8	11	+3
3	13	11	-2
4	19	19	0
5	6	10	+4
6	10	11	+1
7	10	11	+1
Nonverbal Cold Group			
1	8	8	0
2	12	9	-3
3	14	13	-1
4	8	8	0
5	14	17	+3
6	7	5	-2
7	16	15	-1
8	10	7	-3

$U = 10.15$
$p < .027$

Conclusions

In view of the small sample, this study should be regarded as exploratory. These results, however, do support other research suggesting that nonverbal communication of personal warmth increases the intellectual performance of village Indian and Eskimo students.

APPENDIX III

STUDENT AND TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRES

Student Questionnaire

NAME: _____

Circle your school: Monroe Lathrop Ryan

Write the name of your ENGLISH teacher: _____

Circle the period you have this class: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Answer these questions only for your ENGLISH class: Put a check by your answer ___√___.

1. Do you like to be in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

2. Do you have much fun in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

3. Do most of your close friends like the teacher?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

4. Does the teacher help you enough?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

5. Do you learn a lot in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

6. Do you ever feel like staying away from this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

7. Are you proud to be in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

56/57

8. Do you always do your best in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

9. Do you talk in class discussion in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

10. Are most of the students in this class friendly to you?

    Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

Write the name of your SCIENCE teacher: _____

Circle the period you have this class: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Answer these questions only for your SCIENCE class: Put a check by your answer ___✓___.

1. Do you like to be in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

2. Do you have much fun in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

3. Do most of your close friends like the teacher?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

4. Does the teacher help you enough?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

5. Do you learn a lot in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

6. Do you ever feel like staying away from this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

7. Are you proud to be in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

8. Do you always do your best in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

9. Do you talk in class discussions in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

10. Are most of the students in this class friendly to you?

    Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

Write the name of your MATHEMATICS teacher: _____

Circle the period you have this class: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Answer these questions only for your MATH class: Put a check by your answer ___✓___.

1. Do you like to be in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

2. Do you have much fun in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

3. Do most of your close friends like the teacher?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

4. Does the teacher help you enough?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

5. Do you learn a lot in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

6. Do you ever feel like staying away from this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

7. Are you proud to be in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

8. Do you always do your best in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

9. Do you talk in class discussions in this class?

   Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

10. Are most of the students in this class friendly to you?

    Always ___ Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

Teacher Questionnaire

Teacher _____

Period (circle) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Total number of students in class _____

NAME OF STUDENT _____

1. How often does this student participate in classwork which requires speaking in front of the class (for example, volunteering a comment or answering a question)?

   _____ One or more times each class period

   _____ Two or four times per week

   _____ Once a week or less

   _____ Never

REFERENCES

Albert, E.M. The classification of values: A method and illustration. *American Anthropologist*, 1956, *58*, 221-248.

Alameda County School Department. *The reticent child in the classroom, oral communication concepts and activities: A manual for teachers (K-12).* Hayward, California, 1969.

Bayes, M.A. An investigation of the behavioral cues of interpersonal warmth. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Miami) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1970. No. 70-18, 160.

Birdwhistell, R.C. *Kinesics and context.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1970.

Bloom, B.S. Taxonomy of educational objectives. New York: David McKay, 1956.

Briggs, J.L. *Never in anger: Portrait of an Eskimo family.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Brown, D. *Some let us learn.* Unpublished Bachelor's dissertation. Bennington College, 1968.

Cameron, H. Problems of Oklahoma youth from traditional Indian homes. In *Indian Education.* Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, 846-848.

Christensen, C.M. Relationships between pupil achievement, pupil affect-need, teacher warmth, and teacher permissiveness. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1960, *51*(3), 169-174.

Cogan, M.L. The behavior of teachers and the productive behavior of their pupils: II. "Trait analysis." *Journal of Experimental Education*, 1958, *27*, 107-124.

Collier, J. *Film evaluations of Eskimo education.* The National Study of American Indian Education, Series III, No. 4, Final Report. Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1970.

63/63

Cross, J.S. and Nagle, J.M. Teachers talk too much. *Education Digest*, 1970, *35*(8), 22-24.

Crow, L. Public attitudes and expectations as a disturbing variable in experimentation and therapy. Unpublished paper, Harvard University, 1964. Cited by R. Rosenthal, *Experimenter effects in behavioral research*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966, 83-85.

Currie, W. An interview with Walter Currie, *The Indian News*, December 1970, 5.

Darwin, E. *Zoonomia, or the laws of organic life*. Volume I. London: J.Johnson, 1794, 109-111. In A Montagu, *Touching: The human significance of skin*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.

DePoncins, G. *Kabloona*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941.

Dickeman, M. The integrity of the Cherokee student. In M. Wax, *et al., Indian education in eastern Oklahoma, A report of field work among the Cherokee*. Washington: Office of Education, 1969, 83-141.

Dumont, R.V. Cherokee families and the schools. In *Indian Education*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, 877-884.

Dumont, R.V. and Wax., M.L. Cherokee school anxiety and the intercultural classroom. *Human Organization*, 1969, *28*(3), 217-226.

Exner, J.E. Variations in WISC performance as influenced by differences in pretest rapport. *Journal of General Psychology*, 1966, *74*, 299-306.

Gordon, L.V. and Durea, M.A. The effect of discouragement on the revised Stanford Binet Scale. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1948, *73*, 201-207.

Hall, E.T. *The silent language*. Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Premier Books, 1959.

Hall, E.T. *The hidden dimension.* New York: Anchor Books, 1969(a).

Hall, E. T. Listening behavior: Some cultural differences. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 1969, *50*(7), 379-380(b).

Heller, K., Davis, J.D., and Meyers, R.A. The effects of interview style in a standardized interview. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 1966, *30*(6), 501-508.

Hippler, A. Personal communication, 1971.

Jones, D. Personal communication, 1971.

Kemnitzer, C.S. Whiteman medicine, Indian medicine, and Indian identity on Pine Ridge reservation, South Dakota. Paper presented at meeting of Society of Applied Anthropology. In *Indian Education.* Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, 1307-1312.

Kleinfeld, J.S. *Interpersonal relationships across cultures: The selection of urban boarding home parents for Indian and Eskimo students.* College: Center for Northern Educational Research and Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, University of Alaska, 1972 (forthcoming.)

Krauss, R. Personal communication, 1971.

Leach, J. Culture as an invisible person. In A.R. Wight, M.A. Hammons, and H. Bing, *Cross-cultural and community involvement training.* Estes Park, Colorado: Center for Research and Education, 1969.

McKeachie, W.J. and Lin, Y. Achievement standards, debilitating anxiety, intelligence and college women's achievement. *Phychological Record*, 1969, *19*, 457-459.

McKeachie, W.J. and Lin, Y., Millholland, J.E. and Issacson, R. Student affiliation motives, teacher warmth and academic achievement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1966, *4*, 457-461.

Montagu, A. *Touching: The human significance of skin.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.

Osborn, L.R. The Indian pupil in the high school speech class. *Speech Teacher*, 1967, *16*(3), 187-189.

Osborn, L.R. Speech communication and the American Indian high school student. *Speech Teacher*, 1968, *17*(1), 38-43.

Parmee, E.A. Excerpts from formal education and culture change: A modern Apache Indian community and government education programs. In *Indian Education*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, 1228.

Pender, J. Personal communication, 1971.

Pollacca, K. Ways of working with Navajos who have not yet learned white man's ways. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 1962, *2*(1), 6-16.

Pope, B. and Siegman, A.W. Interviewer warmth in relation to interviewee verbal behavior. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 1968, *32*(5), 588-595.

Poston, W.K. Teaching Indian pupils in public schools. Proceedings of a seminar, Mesa Public Schools, Arizona, April 27-May 2, 1967.

Rabinowitz, W. and Rosenbaum, I. A failure in the prediction of pupil-teacher rapport. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1958, *49*(2), 93-98.

Reece, M.M. and Whitman, R.N. Expressive movements, warmth, and verbal reinforcements. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1962, *64*, 234-236.

Reed, H.B. The effects of teacher warmth. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 1961, *2*(3), 330-334(a).

Reed, H.B. Teacher variables of warmth, demand, and utilization of intrinsic motivation related to pupil's science interests: A study illustrating several potentials of variance and covariance. *Journal of Experimental Education*, 1961, *29*(3), 205-226(b).

Richards, W. "Counselling" Eskimos. Unpublished paper. Alaska Native Medical Center, Anchorage, Alaska, 1972.

Rosenthal, R. *Experimenter effects in behavioral research.* New York: Appleton-Century—Crofts, 1966.

Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. *Pygmalion in the classroom.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1968.

Ryans, D.G. *Characteristics of teachers.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1960.

Sommer, R. Further studies of small group ecology. *Sociometry*, 1965, *28*, 337-348.

Spindler, G.D. and Spindler, L.S. American Indian personality types and their sociocultural roots. In *American Indians and American Life*, The annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 1957, 147-157.

St. John, N. Thirty-six teachers: Their characteristics and outcomes for black and white pupils. *American Educational Research Journal*, 1971, *8*(4), 635-648.

Stefannson, V. *My life with the Eskimo.* New York: The MacMillan Co., 1913.

Van Ness, H. Personal communication, 1971.

Wax, M.L., Dumont, R.J., Dickeman, M., Petit, P.F., and Wax, R.H. *Indian education in eastern Oklahoma: A report of fieldwork among the Cherokee.* Final Report. Washington: Office of Education, 1969.

Wax, R.H. and Thomas, R.K. American Indians and White people. *Phylon*, 1961, *22*(4), 305-317.

Wax, R.H. and Wax, M.L. Dropout of American Indians at the secondary level. Research Report. In *Indian Education.* Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, 1457-1523.

Wax, M.L. Wax, R.H. and Dumont, R.V. Formal education in an American Indian community. Supplement to *Social Problems*, 1964, *2*(4), whole issue.

William, G. Effects of interpersonal atmosphere and sex of interviewer on interview related behavior. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1970. No. 70-6650.

Williams, R.G. Relationship of class participation to personality, ability, and achievement variables. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1971, *83*(2), 193-198.

Witter, E. Pair the bold with the shy and get results. *Grade Teacher*, 1967, *85*, 180-181.

Wolf, H.R. Composition and group dynamics: The paradox of freedom. *College English*, 1969, *30*(6), 441-444.

Zintz, M.V. *Education across cultures*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 1963.